

Edm. Marbury. A
FRUITFUL
SERMON NECES-
SARY FOR THE TIME,
preached at the Spittle vpon
the Tuesday in Easter weeke
last, by *Frauncis*
Marbury. *693.2.3.*

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F. R. V. L. F. V. D.

SERMON ON THE

SABBATH FOR THE

PRELIMINARY

TO THE

CONGREGATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF

THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

AND

THE

WEST INDIES

AND

THE

WEST INDIES

AND

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AND

THE

The Epistle to the

Reader.

B Rethren, when I saw how Satan had preuailed by his latter temptations, to adde a further miserie to those euils which he had contriued by his former: I desired that by some good hand he might be resisted. And for a good space (I confesse) I haue inclined to aduenture my selfe in opposing him. I foresaw how ynacceptable it would be to some, and reuolued it with such anxietie of minde, as I could not remooue by mine own strength. But it was the Lords worke that I set aside discouragements, and fell to waighing the matter. Three things I principally pondred. First, that this vndurifull alienation did grieuously displease God, and was a grievous iudgement of it selfe. Secondly, that it had no ground but the *tradition of Satan*; so I call the information which is giuen to men, that are strangers to the secrets of a cause, by those that are parties to the action. Thirdly, that the effect of this alienation, if it were too much inueterat would be formidable to all, and chiefly to gods Church. Hereupon I resolued to wait some oportunitie to performe this duty, and to endure mine owne losse for the gaine of others. In this corruption of nature it is not possible to do any thing exactly wel, and by that verie thing doth the Lord aduantage his glorie: for so he hum-

Iob. 31.
36.

bleth the instruments of the best things. Howbeit he giueth grace to his children to attaine to vndoubted synceritie, and to propound his glory to their enterprises in the singlenesse of their harts. The falsenesse of mans hart (if he set himselfe seriously before God) cannot so deceiue him, but he may discern whether he haue had a care to auoid euil and to glorifie God. In this care I haue had my part from my first calling to preach at the Spittle. And if men wil report me otherwise, *my conscience will make her a garland of their reports*, as *Iob* saith. I doe acknowledge that after I was called to that place, I thought my selfe qualified in some measure for this very purpose, vpon these grounds. 1. I stood well affected to my cuntrymen, whom I desired to reforme. 2. I presumed that they had entertained a perswasion that I affected soundnesse in deliuering Gods word. 3. I vnderstood the cause with the distinctions. 4. I vnderstood out of my innumerable obseruations the still continuing dispositions and words of men in the cause, to be verie sinfull and dangerous, notwithstanding all their distinctions. And I proportioned the reprehensio of an vniuersall sin to an vniuersall assembly. 5. I conceiued that the wound being cured betweene God and man, and between man and man, we should all be fit to ioine against the Diuell, and leaue failing both in dutifulnes and wisdom. I haue (being required thereto) deliuered a faithfull report of that Sermon. I haue not (the Lord

Lord is witnesse) set downe one word to diuert
y sense of any one point frō that which I concei-
ued at the deliuerie, but haue striuen to attaine
to the words. My conscience is vpright so farre
as I can discerne it in the course. If the great mi-
nisters of state had called me to preach before
them, I would either haue insisted in the doc-
trine of the common duties of christianitie, or
els would haue held it my duty to haue left this,
and to haue followed the other relative. To
haue done it now, had been preposterous.

As touching *politike vertues*, which I holde
more excellent for the profit of the commonwealth
in true christian princes, then their morall ver-
tues be; doe me right in vnderstanding me as
I expressely spake it, and as I wrote it (vpon oc-
casion) more then once before, I spake it of *true*
christian princes. Otherwise I hold a *Rehoboam*
in his defectiuenesse of policie (if he be other-
wise truly religious) a fitter king thē a *Ieroboam*
being an enemy of religion, with all his irreligi-
ous policies. Conceiue also the largenes of
the name of *politike vertues*, that in deed it ex-
tendeth in the scripture phrase (which I thought
of) to a mans carriage in common with others
be he priuate or publike; inso much that *S. Paul*
calleth his conscionable seruice of God in con-
uersing amongst the Iewes *his politike carriage*.
And therefore in princes it extendeth to all their
duties, as they bee princes, euen to their verie
praiers as they are the mouths of their people,
as it sometimes fell out, and to their resorting

Phil. I. 27.
πολιτικῶς.

Act. 23. 1.
πολιτικῶς.

1 Reg. 8.
23.

2 Cro. 20
6.

Psal. 43. 4

to the publike worship of God as guides to the people, these are politike duties, as they are don in a politike respect for governments sake, for the name of policie is abusiue put for vnconscionable craftinesse.

1 Theff. 4.

II.

If there were any ambitious intention in me, it was S. Pauls φιλοτιμία. I was ambitious of loue and quietnesse in my countrey. Other surmises are vaine; for though I desire to exercise my ministerie with the ayde and countenance of authoritie for the repulsiue of vngodly oppositions, yet I may affirm with all truth of hart that I haue as much mind to turn my endeouers from the painful preaching of the Gospel to other things, as *Barzillai* had to be a Courtier. Wel, the Lord enforme you all with all profitable and conuenient truth, and frame your affections thereafter. And the Lord giue vs all grace to turne all our vnneccessarie medlings with Counsels and States, to prayers & thanksgiuings for our blessed Lady Queen *Elizabeth*,

Amen.

F. M.



The Dialogue betweene

Salomon and his Subiect.

Eccles. 10. 4.

4. *If the spirit of him that is in authority rise* Salomon.
Up against thee, leaue not thy place. For
gentlenesse pacifieth great sinnes.

5. *There is an euill, that I haue seene under* Subiect.
the sunne, as an error that proceedeth from
the face of him that ruleth.

6. *Folly is set in great excellencie, and the*
rich is set in low place.

7. *I haue seene seruants on horses, and prin-*
ces walking as seruants on the ground.

8. *He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it, and* Salomon.
he that breaketh an hedge, a Serpent shall
bite him.

9. *He that remooueth stones, shall hurt him-*
selfe

The Dialogue betweene

selfe thereby, and he that cutteth wood, shall be in danger thereby.

10. If the iron be blunt, and one hath not whet the edge, he must then put to more strength, but the excellencie of a thing is wisdom.

11. If the Serpent bite when he is not charmed, no better is a babler.

12. The wordes of the lippes of a wise man haue grace: but the lippes of a foole deuoure himselfe.

13. The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishnesse, and the latter end of his mouth is wicked madnesse.

14. For the foole multiplieth wordes: yet the man knoweth not what shall be, and who can tell him what shall be after him?

15. The labour of the foole doth wearie him, yet he knoweth not to go into the Citie.

Subiect.

16. Woe to thee O Land, when thy King is a childe, and thy Princes eate in the morning.

17. Blessed art thou O Land, when thy King is the sonne of Nobles, and thy Princes eate
in

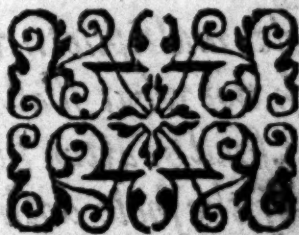
Salomon and his subiect.

*in time for strength, and not for drunken-
nesse.*

*18. By slothfulnesse the rooffe of the house
goeth to decay, and by idlenesse of the hands
the house droppeth thorough.*

*19. They prepare bread for laughter, and
wine comforteth the lining, and siluer go-
eth for all.*

*20. Curse not the King, no not in thy Salomon.
thought; nor the rich, no not in thy bed-
chamber, &c.*



1. The first thing to be done is to get the

2. The second thing to be done is to get the

3. The third thing to be done is to get the

4. The fourth thing to be done is to get the

5. The fifth thing to be done is to get the

6. The sixth thing to be done is to get the

7. The seventh thing to be done is to get the

8. The eighth thing to be done is to get the

9. The ninth thing to be done is to get the

10. The tenth thing to be done is to get the

11. The eleventh thing to be done is to get the

12. The twelfth thing to be done is to get the

13. The thirteenth thing to be done is to get the

14. The fourteenth thing to be done is to get the

15. The fifteenth thing to be done is to get the

16. The sixteenth thing to be done is to get the

17. The seventeenth thing to be done is to get the

18. The eighteenth thing to be done is to get the

19. The nineteenth thing to be done is to get the

20. The twentieth thing to be done is to get the

Eccles. 10. verse 20.

*Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; neither
curse the rich, no not in thy bed-chamber; for
the foule of the heauen shall carrie the voice,
and that which hath winges shall declare the
matter.*



His Booke being made after *Salomons* rising from his fall, hath the commendation both of his repentance and of the experience of his very soule, according to the Hebrew title of precheresse (as one would saie giuen by himselfe) in the feminine gender. It containeth a cōfession of the vanity of al mans priuate attempts in the 7. first chapters: the 8. chap. mentioneth the vanity & corruptiō of publick administrations with the scandale therof: the 9. mentioneth the ignorance & mistaking of the diuine administrations, together with y vniust scandale therof. Now correspondently this 10. chap. containeth the cure of the first scandale, as the 11. doth of the second.

Cobeleth

The

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

The con-
text.

à Tre-
mellius.

The principall question of this chap. be-
ginning it(^a with some) at the fourth verse
is, that subiects that are godly wise, ought
to repress in themselves al insurrection of
mind, against the supposed scandales of
ciuill administrations, and against the do-
ings of princes, and that a disloyal thought
ought not to bee lent thereunto.

The discourse wherof is propounded (as
it were) dialogue wise betweene *Salomon*
& his subiect: *Salomō* beginneth this graue
counsell of moderating the affections in
the 4. verse. And the Subiect answereth
flaunderously in the three next, insinuating
that it is impossible to stand contented and
of an appeased mind in a gouernment
which hee surmisseth to be so scandalous,
that it peruerteth and inuerteth the vse of
preferments & abasements. Thus out of his
mere conceit he aymeth (possible) at some
thing don by *Salomon* in his vxoriousnes,
at the instigation of his Idolatrous wiues;
yet without any ground for this cauil.

The replie which *Salomon* returneth to
this

on Easter Tuedaie, 1602.

this obiection, is contained in the next 8. verses: The summe of the reply is, that it is daungerous folly for a subiect to beat his braines about these matters.

The particulars are first 4. comparisons, to note out the peril, and a fift comparison to note the irreuocablenes of the peril when men haue gon too far. The first cōparison in the 8. verse is against curious ranfackers of state matters, to dig vp scandales to themselues and others, that they are like those that dig a pit and fall into it. The second comparison in the same verse is against those which incōsideratly rush against the priuiledges of old receiued by prescription, and scan the prerogatiue of their soueraign: which are likned to breakers vp of old hedges, where serpents lurke and bite them. The third comparison vers. 9. is against those which attempt to disioine the vnited body of a state by shooting at some particulars members of the same, who are likned to a remouer of stones that are cōpact in a building, & so bringeth all vpon his head. The 4. comparison, in the same verse, and in the tenth
is

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

is against those which think to right matters by violence, who are likened to those y^e thinke to cleaue knotty logs with blunt axes, & so bruiſe themſelues with violent rebounding blowes, & yet cleaue not the logs; whereas the excellencie of a thing (indeed) is wiſedome, that is, the excellent maner of walking to compaſſe a good matter is by the meekenes & grauiouſnes of wiſedome, and not by violence. The fiſt compariſon which is verſ. 11, is to reſtrain men by terror from proceeding too far, becauſe then their hurt wilbe incurable whatſoeuer they alledge for theſelues: for charming is but babling after that the ſerpent hath already bitten, for y^e harme ſhould go before.

Whereupon *Salomon* concludeth with a diſcourſe of the tongue, tending to an exhortation to temper it wiſely, by an argument taken from the contrarie effects of the contrary gouernment of the ſame, ver. 12. to wit either grace or deſtruction: and hee proſecuteth the euill effects: firſt deſcribing the iſſue of buſie talke.

It beginneth (saith hee) at foolishnesse, and by reason of an vnbridled affection prooueth at the last wicked madnesse, verse 13. Secondly, the issue of foolish talke for want of graue premeditation, that a man cannot tell what wordes shall escape him, nor any body els neither, by that time hee hath made an end of his vnprepared collation: for so soundeth the originall, verse 14. And thirdly, the issue of foolish meddling by reason of ignorance, when men tire themselves with controuling of state matters, & yet are many times so ignorant that they cannot manage their owne affaires, but are more like to them that know not to goe to the city though it bee a beaten way, nor can scarce tell the way home to their owne houses, verse 15. And thus farre the reply of *Salomon*. The subiect though conuincd, yet not resting in this counsel, verse 16. continueth his obiection as it were by way of reioinder, but now indirectly, and falleth to lamenting, that is, to cunning deprauing the state of his coun-

B

trey

trety for the riotousnes & dissolutenesse of the gouernors, & verse 17. by way of comparison preferreth the gouernment of other countreyes, and verſ. the 18. and 19. taketh vpon him to prophesie euill to his owne, by comparing it with the priuate ſtate of an vnthrif, who letteth all his things to go to decay by retchleſneſſe, and conſumeth himſelfe with prodigality (ſo hee cloſely girdeth at the ſumptuouſnes of *Salomon*) preſuming that a good purſe will hold out and pay for all, til he haue nothing left.

To this ſecond obiection followeth now in this verſe the ſurreiinder of *Salomon*, wherein yet he vouchſafeth not to way out any ſpecial answer to theſe buſie particulars (for ſubiects muſt giue account to princes, and not princes to their ſubiects) but ſet- teth out an answer by hand, and generally that they were beſt to take heed of maligning of princes leaſt they ſmarted for it.

And this is the vniuerſall context which I thought expedient to go about to cleere, becauſe the coherence of the Hebrue ſtile

is not so much relieued to the vnderstanding of the most with helpes of inference to connect or to distinguish the parts, as the Greeke is. And I desired to make the descending out of the contexte into the text to be of easie passage and sensible.

The text it selfe hath two generall parts which lay open themselves: an exhortation and an argument. The exhortation hath likewise two, and the argument as many. The first part of the exhortation is, not to depraue the King, for the word signifieth so much as to make light account of. The second part of the exhortation is, not to depraue the Rich, vnderstanding the word rich not literally only, but metaphorically also, for persons of worth, qualified with vertues & parts, such askings do or should principallie imploy in their affaires: which signification of the word is pregnantly deliuered out of the sixt verse of this chapter. And this name is given them here of purpose, because men of so great imployment are commonly enriched, and their riches

The disposition of the text.

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

become an eye sore to many. This (as I haue said) is deliuered by way of forbidding vnder the forme of an exhortation, & not of an austere commandement, which affecteth a soft hart more, howbeit the forbiddings be not both of y^e same value: for that which cōcerneth the king is more absolute as a prohibition, and that concerning the rich is lesse absolute as an inhibition. This appeareth by the seuerall extents of these two forbiddings; for the kinge may not be depraued *no not in thy thought*, & the rich may not be depraued *no not in thy bedchamber*, or in the withdrawing of thy bedchamber. For the reuerence of the kinge God hath immediatly seated vpon the conscience of the subiect. And the subordinate Magistrate is seated on the conscience to, but mediatly according to the authority giuen hym by the king; so that he so far sitteth vpon the conscience as he is included in the King, and is more easily diuided by his particular offences, when he abuseth his prince & his authority. Against whom neuerthelesse

neuerthelesse a good subiect cannot irregularly mutter with a good conscience, nor deprave him in corners, though hee doe giue cause to be euill thought of. Thus the deprauation of either is seuerallie forbidden with this difference, but in one and the same verbe, & that in such a grauitie therof as importeth the effect of such malignitie, which for the most part redoundeth to some violation or hurt of the gouernours. And the word *Gam* (rightly valued in the translatiō to no nor) is added to the first for vehemencie, & must also be vnderstood, & so supplied to the latter for the same cause.

The argument by an inuerred order familiar to the Hebrewes, first speaketh of the danger of deprauing of the rich. And secondly, of the danger of deprauing the king both hyperbolically: *that birds shal detect it*, to signifie that men can haue no security by committing this sin intestine. The danger of deprauing the rich, is that the voice of whisperers against them shalbe carried by the foule of the heauē, and the danger of de-

praising of the king is, that the ill matter
conceiued against him in the minde what-
soeuer it be (for *Dabhar* is answereable to
Res, & signifieth any thing) though not vt-
tered, shalbe declared not by any ordinary
foule of the heauen as the former, but e-
uen by the maister of winges after the He-
braisme, that is, by the swiftest foule. For
the prouidence of God vseth speciall expe-
dition, in detecting the iniuries intended or
conceiued against the supream magi-
strate.

The para-
phrase.

As if *Salomon* had propouided to his sub-
iect the same matter in more wordes thus.
I see well that counsel is good to those
y^e are good: but as for thee thou hast the
• fault of an euil seruant that is answeringe
again: thou hast thy part in those foolish
allegations, that thought is free, & that a cat
may looke on a King. One while thou bla-
mest princes for mildisposing of honors: a-
nother while thou carpest at them & the
magistrates vnder them for dissolutenesse
& ryot. What should I say to thee? should I

I make account to thee? thou art no fit auditor of these reckonings. Take heed to thy selfe and to thy spirit : thou art surely in the way of Atheists and hypocrites: for theirs is the spirit of malignity : and to the first borne of them doth slander belong in this high nature. I exhort thee therefore to keep both a good tongue and a good heart with thee, & in entring into kings matters to lay aside first pride, which puffeth vp. Secondly superfluity of folly, which distasteth wisdomè it selfe. Thirdly, want of compassion, which rashly condemneth that which wise charity would tolerate. Fourthly, lack of equitie, which layeth imputations crosse. And fiftly, vnthankfulnesse for the blessings by and from princes. Do thou not deprave the King no not in the whisperings of thy consciéce. Make not thy heart a den of surmises. And as touching those principal magistrates against whom vnder colour of lamentation thou makest such an outcrye: giue not thy selfe leaue to deprave them, no not when thou hast remoued all

witnesses in thy most retyred closet. Enuie not their riches. Traduce not their feuerity. Condemne not their policy. Be not rash in any of these things. Throw all malice out of thy conscience, and place reuerence to authority in the roome. Leau curious prying and credulousnesse to the right owners: I meane busie bodies. He which made the conscience and hath assigned authoritie a place there, hath a quicke ear, & by his prouidence returneth a speedy intelligence of these faults, as worthie to high a detector. For what is spoken against magistrates, the birds of the aire shall carrie tidings of it. And whatsoeuer is but in hart spoken against the king himselfe, God will make out the maister of the winges a most speedy accuser to declare the matter; rather then faile hee will afford a miracle. Of a truth the vengeance of God will find out such a sinner, and when hee is founde out, the holy ghost as well as the king will be his enemy.

The holy ghost out of this text thus to be

be vnderstood, first goeth about to plant in our harts the reuerence of the supreme magistrate, and teacheth vs that we ought not to admitte the contrarie for thought. Let vs therefore (leauing *Rabbi Salomons* allegorie of vnderstanding by King, God, which eateth out the heart of this text) receiue this doctrine of honouring the Prince in our heart, out of the heart of this scripture; and that also with the circumstances of this scripture, to wit, notwithstanding a thousand suggestions of Satan to the contrarie. For such is the charge giuen of God on this behalfe in the fifth commandement, though the instance bee giuen of naturall parents: for it beareth proportion most pregnantly this way of all others. Honour (saith the Lord) thy Father and thy Mother, putting the commandement in forme of an exhortation (as here) to make it more gracious thereby, as also by the promise annexed, as saint *Paul* saith. Neither hath the text barely honour them, but by reason of the coniugation

The doctrine of magistrates,

Eph. 6

tion it weigheth as much as to prosecute them and loade them with honours, and with admiration of loue. The reasons to moue vs are very effectuell. For first wee cannot entertaine a sleight estimation of them without despising and despiting of God, who hath set his image, euen a celestiall character vpon them, yea euen vpon those of them that knowe him not.

Exod. 22.
28.

Therefore the law saith, *Thou shalt not raile vpon the Gods*, calling rulers Gods, which name also the holy ghost confesseth

Psal. 82.
6.

that he had bestowed vpon them, *I sayde ye are Gods*. And he hath not giuen them the name onely; but hee hath bestowed also diuine gifts vpon them agreeable to the title. They are endewed (were not the word of God credible) with an incredible measure of wisdom, to speake euen oracles at times. When *Saul* at his inauguration (saith the scripture) turned from *Samuel*,

1. Sam. 10
9.

God gaue him another heart. For the hearts of princes are heroically endued with courage, wisdom, and bountifulnes. And when

on Easter Tuesday, 1602.

when neede requireth *there shalbe* (saith Prou. 16.
Salomon) *a diuine sentence in the lippes of* ^{10.}
a king, or other ruler for his places sake, as
wee read the diuine sentence of *Salomon* 1 King. 3.
and of *Caiphaz*. Whereby it is manifest, Ioh. 11.
that he that deiecteth the prince out of his 50. 51.
conscience, deiecteth God himselfe, who
requireth to sitte in his conscience by
him. And God giueth vs no dispensation
for any cause to disreuerence the prince,
except that we be able to shew that we doe
it at Gods commandement. The scrip-
tures are plentifull in pleading for superi-
ours. And the men of god when they haue
by mistaking, exceeded towards a ruler
(though a wicked one) haue vsed diligence
to excuse themselves and to auoide the
scandale. *I knewe not* (saith *Paul*) *that he* Act. 23. 5.
was the high priest, *for it is written, Thou*
shalt not curse the ruler of the people. And Exod. 22.
when they had proceeded beyond decen- 28.
cie (though with speciall innocencie) yet
they were troubled in conscience: for *Da-*
uid was touched in his heart, because hee
had

had cut off y lap which was on *Saules* garment. So that if to refuse God be vngodlines, then it must needs be so to admit a contemptuous thought of a prince, in whom God offereth himselfe vnto vs: I say a contemptuous thought, for both this text is so, & also the law is spiritual. And it is so sure that they are vngodly men which offend in this kinde, that the holy ghost calleth them *sonnes of Belial*, that is, vn-yoked persons, which refuse to bee vnder the yoke of due obedience.

1 Sam. 10
27.

But what can bee obiected? truely nothing in effect, but that men haue taken a toy to scue like vnbroken horses from their duetie.

As for the allegation made by heretikes of conscience to God. When no disobedience to God is required, it is in great hypocrisie that God is alleadged: for are they not put together in scripture, *Feare God and the King, and depart from the seditions* (as it is translated) or (as the text hath it) *from the various*, from those that deuide these

Prou. 24
21.
1. Pet. 2
17
Rom. 13
2.7

on Easter Tuedaie, 1602.

these dueties, so as if they could not consist together. And did not both *Peter* and *Paul* require so much, when kings were enemies of the truth, and of the saluation of their subiects? Verily, when men make their excuse by God in this behalfe, they doe no better, *then tell a lie for the Almightye*, as *Iob* saith in another matter. For *that which is Casars, may be giuen to Cesar*, without the least breach of allegiance to almighty God. And it is most true that *Chrysostome* saith vpon the 13. to the Romans, οὐκ ἀνα- *Iob. 23. 9*
τρέπει τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἢ ὑποταγὴν; subiection to *Math. 22. 21*
Princes ouerturneth not religion. A point belike that in those daies stood in need still & successiuely to be vrged. For the Greeke Scholiast likewise in his collect vpon the *Oecumenius*
same place to the Rom. hath it neere word for word. And he saith after, that *S. Paul* taketh great care to vrge it πανταχῶς, euerie where. Neither was this (as *Ierom* suppo-
seth) by reason of the continuance of any olde heresie: but because *S. Paul* saw that this sin would vniuersally and successiuely
assaile,

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

assaile. For it hath euer beene a world of tongues; and as for thoughts, men thinke they are lawlesse. But assuredly whatsoever men perswade themselves, though the external subiection be neuer so strict; yet the contemptuous thought of a Prince (though the discreence be neuer so secret) cannot stand with true and vndefiled religion. For the conscience that is guiltie of quarrellsome thoughts against the lords annointed (how close soeuer they be kept) is wrecked. And such a man is forsaken of the holy ghost, and is solde to an vnconscionable criminousnesse in other things besides that. As we reade in *Iude*, that *they are filthy persons that despise gouernment*. And (as *Peter* saith) *bruit beasts, lead by sensualitye, which haue no ground but ignorance for their deed*. And therefore as men tender the worke of godlines in themselves, they must keepe tenderly in the reines of their consciences the reuerence of their prince.

But what say the Rhemists to this matter?

Ep. Iudz
ver. 8

2 Pet. 2.
12

on Easter Tuesday, 1602.

rer? Forsooth *that euerie man must not be* Annotat.
subiect to all that be in office, or superioritie; in Ro. 13
but euerie one to him whom God hath put in
authority ouer him, by that he is his superior,
and that onely in matters of peace and poli-
cie &c. but not in matters of religion or re-
giment of soules. Where note first that
these counterfait Catholicks haue taken li-
bertie to change euen their ciuill superior
(as you know the storie of Storie) and that
howsoeuer they pretend to be subiect in
matters of policie, yet they be not without
their euasion. For euen matters of policie
must be iudged to be matters of religion,
and matters of regiment of soules, if their
spiritual superiour doe once so deem them
and doome them: yea (which is the com-
plement of all absurditie to holde, and the
quintessence of treacherie to resolute of)
they play fast and loose, and submit them-
selues with a *quatenus*, a popish one I wis,
no longer then till they be strong enough
to resist and rebell, for then they holde
their consciences discharged. And so may
Princes

Princes see what sure cardes they haue of
Papists.

1. Thef. 4.
9. 10.

But let vs leaue them, and let vs come
to our selues, who by the grace of God
doe protest our obedience to our Soue-
raigne, not after a popish, that is to say,
a sophistickall manner. For although you
be not to bee challenged of disloialtie, so
that *you should need to bee spoken to* (to
imitate Saint Pauls wordes) *as touching*
the loue of your Prince, for we are taught of
God to loue such a Prince, yea and that thing
verily you doe: yet we beseech you brethren
that you increase more and more. It is not to
be doubted but Satan, as he hath already,
so he will practise the contrarie with ma-
ny, and wil turne himselfe into euerie like-
nesse to preuaile. Whosoever doth vili-
pend his Soueraigne in his conscience, is
either an Atheist, or an Hypocrite. But
because Satan will teach vs to be mad with
reason, let vs I pray you without offence of
any for our better preseruatiue, consider
further what grieuous sins (in steed of what
great

great reasons) Satan will vse to peruert our hearts, and to sollicite vs to entertaine a colder estimatiō of so honored a Queene, as God hath blessed vs withall.

First he wil worke by our pride. For (as *Salomon* saith) though men alleadge other scuses, yet *pride onely is the source of all contention*. For subiects haue seldome hearts humble enough, especially they that haue any wit are rarely found to haue the meeknesse of wisdomē. And thus it commeth to passe, that their conceitednes redoundeth to the disreuerence of their Prince. And in verie truth, the land is full of conceited persons of this kinde, whose harts are sowed with the leauen of their owne pride: insomuch that oftentimes there ariseth a bitternesse out of the stomacke of malecontents into their mouths, whē their wilfull ruines are not repaired by Princes; so that they cannot forbear to speake of the sacred Maiestie of a Prince with a prophane and ridiculous mouth. The Cavalieroes liberal science hath many vncompositions,

The first
cause of
vndutiful-
nesse.
Prou. 13.
10.

positions, as that stabbing is necessarie for tempering of tooongs, that it is a forfeiture of all manhood to take the lie. And this is one of the rules of the same newe learning, which wilde creatures haue brought into the world, euen a doctrine of *Belial*, for a man to dare to speake whatsoever commeth in his head. And men are so foolish to thinke, that standers by will ascribe greatnesse vnto them, if they giue euidence of an impudent and audacious spirit by their words. And yet there want not pretences, as of ingenuousnesse, or of spirits, or of martiall education, or of zeale to their countrey. But let vs not be deceiued, for a man may be free born without a free tongue, and a man may abound in spirits, without despising the spirit of modestie: he may be a souldier though his face bee not made of harnesse: hee may be zealous and be no incendiarie. It were much to be wished, that our humilitie might keep our thoughts in better temper, and therefore much more put our
tongues

on Easter Tuedaie, 1602.

tongues to silence. For what are subiects
in comparison of Princes? If the Iewes
were commanded to *put their neckes under*
the yoke of the king of Babel, and to pray for
the peace of Nebuchadnezzar an heathen ty-
rant, how should not we buckle our selues
to a greater humilitie of minde, to a prince
that excelleth *Nebuchadnezzar*, as much
as a Diamond excelleth a pibble stone?
There was enacted since her Maiesties
raigne a statute of words and rumours, and
that vnder no greater penaltie then deser-
ued. And it were to be wished, though
not vnder so great penalty, yet vnder some
due penaltie, such as might be warranted
by Gods word, that the same statute might
extend to all words whatsoever, that are
wilfully and scornfully cast out to any kind
of violating, or disreuerence of the honour
of the Prince, though cloaked by meri-
ment. For now adaies many that professe
irregularitie, if they get betweene the por
and the wall, doe despise all rules of Mu-
sicke, and their instrument goeth volunta-
rie.

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

ric. It were a great indignitie to denie that men of valour are verie honourable and necessarie instruments. But there are that go vnder the name of resolute, which giue occasion to vpbraide the land, as *Ezechiel* vpbraided Ierusalem. *There are in thee that haue despised father and mother*, that speake scornfully both of Queene and counsell. If it went no further then thoughts, the punishment were restrained to the iudge of thoughts; but when it bursteth foorth into the fire of words, it behoueth men to powre water vpon it. The common wealth hath been greatly damnified in the reputation of virgines, in the education of children, and otherwise with this new precipitate position of cockering of spirits, and specially the estimation of Princes is violated thereby: so that he which will purge himselfe from this vice, had need to thinke more lowly of himselfe, and more highly of his prince. And so much of pride as it doth preiudice mans due tie to his prince.

The

The second way whereby Satan goeth about to abuse persons, otherwise not euill, and so to inueigle them to abuse their Prince, is lacke of wisedome in not discerning the lawfulnessse of sundrie pretences, and policies of Princes, and their foolishnesse to condemne their princes therefore. The second cause of vnductifulnes.

It is true, that *we may not doe euill that good may come therof*: Ifay, we may not doe it: & that we must *auoide the verie appearance of an euill deede*, to wit, such as might minister any iust occasion to a wise and charitable man to suspect vs; yet we must not liue by the fooles lore. To disguise a purpose with a pretence, is not forbidden by the word of God. It behooueth vs to make a good constructiō of the intents of Princes, and it is an vncomely thing to take vpon vs the censuring of the meanes, whereby they are contrined. Wee are not worthie to know them. There is indeed no comparison with God: but because it is his pleasure to call Kings gods, therefore wee may partly impart this saying in *Iob* vnto them,

Prou. 8
12

that as *The Lord giueth not account of all his matters*, so in some respect it may bee said of Princes. The holy Ghost hath commended vnto vs all, but most of all to them the *Wisedome of serpents*, so it bee qualified with the *Innocencie of Doves*. And it is verified both in God, and in the child of God, which the holy Ghost saith, *I Sapience dwell with prudence*. Pretences and deedes doe often require no other correspondence, then is betweene the face of a Ferie man and his oares. But there are some which haue so distasted the very name of policie, as if it were the name of some fowle vice. And many of these which crie for a plaine course, and to keepe in the rode way, are themselves (as *Salomon* before saith) so fillic, that they scarce knowe the way home: so that they giue occasion to inuert the verse. *Quicquid delirat populus rex plectitur*, the peoples dotage turneth to the kinges blame. *Salomon* pretended to diuide an infant to good purpose, and did not. *Paul* pretended to *Indaize*, and did not,

not; he shored his head in Cenchrea, hee tooke vpon him to bee a votarie, hee circumcised *Timothy*, he purified himselfe: yea to escape the Sadduces he pretended to be a Pharisee, by the aduantage of holding one thing with the Pharisees. Doth the holy Ghost (which praised *Salomon* for the like) detect him; or else doth it commend him for these thinges? Or would *Paul* haue blamed *Peter* and others, because they did not ὀρθοποδεῖν, that is, went not with a right foote, if hee had been guiltie of a wrie course in himselfe? It is verie obseruable, that the same Apostle which abounded in giftes and graces, abounded in godly policies. I speake not this as a patron of irreligious policies, but onely to auoide the absolute condēnation of that which gods word somewaie alloweth. Be sure of it that this folly is a great fault, and when it is busie folly it is a great interrupter of princes in their holesome attempts, as it had fallen out if any had taken exception to *Salomons* commaundement of diu-

C. 4
ding

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ding

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

ding the infant. It behooueth the body to receiue sense from the head; but it doth not become Idiots to coniure the doings of princes within the circle of their censure.

The third
cause of
vndutiful-
nes.

A third sinne which the Diuell ingesteth into the people, and thereby suggesteth an vnreuerent conceit of their princes vnto them, is lacke of compassion in not weighing their temptations and their necessities. There is no doubt but sinne is sinne in whomsoever, in King or Kæsar; and there is as little doubt of this, that sinne is to be extenuated or aggravated by circumstances. *We ought* (as S. Paul saith) *to carrie one anothers burthen*. It is a great iniurie which is offered to princes, and it is verie disagreeable with charitie, when an vniust rate is set either vpon their defects or their vertues. They themselues ought not to giue their consciences any vlawfull libertie before God. But subjects that aile nothing, and are better supplied with remedies against sin then princes be, ought
of

of right to allow them a great deale of o-
uer-measure in this behalfe. For subiects
haue a benefit of the discipline of lawes to
curbe them for stumbling, and the raines
thereof to holde them from falling. But
when kings are considered comparatiuely
with inferiour persons, they are found to
trauell with the winde and stormes in their
faces, when others haue it on their backs.
Now this disadvantage must finde at our
hands good allowance another way. For
when wheries meet on the Thames, the ad-
uantage and shelter of the banke is theirs
of right, that haue the winde and tide a-
gainst them. Princes haue riches and au-
thoritie, which are (as *Isocrates* saith) facul-
ties of misdoing. They haue nothing wher-
with to implead allurements, but the on-
ly feare of God: and on the other side ter-
rours come to them at the first hand, to
enforce discouragements: so that it is a spe-
ciall mercie of God to many of them, and
to their subiects in them, that they doe so
• well as they doe. Once it is an vndoubted
truth,

truth, that not one of their deprauers would approach to them in vertues, if (*ceteris paribus*, that is to say, if circumstances were matches) they were in their place.

Aug. in li.
quæst. vet.
et noui
testamen-
ti. 16

But it may be obiected, that a mans sin is amplified and not diminished by the circumstance of being a Magistrate, as *Augustine* saith, *Viri sublimis culpa graue peccatum est*, the fault of a man of place, is a grieuous sinne. This is so to be deemed in deed in respect of extorting his lusts by his magistracie, or for defiling Gods seate of iustice; or in respect of the effect, when the Magistrate maketh no conscience of his doings that are exemplarie, being *ductor populi*, the leader of the people, as *Augustine* saith in the same place. Otherwise the circumstance of power and prosperitie considered as meere personall, extenuateth a mans sinne when his case is compared with theirs, whose temptations Satan cannot manage by these meanes: so that the matter lieth vnder such a distinction,

as diuideth the sentence betweene aggra-
uating and extenuating.

And that in this case it is the duetie of
the Magistrate himfelfe, to aggrauate his
owne offence by the circumstance of his
place: and the duetie of others, to extenu-
ate the personall offences of princes by the
circumstaunce of their temptations. In
deed foule circumstances make foul faults,
as when *David* tooke *Vrijahs* wife, and had
all *Saules* wiues before, and when the *Israe-*
lites tempted God so often in the WIL-
DERNES, euen in the schoole of the crosse.
But there are other circumstaunces that
should mollifie vs, and teach vs to extenu-
ate the errors of others in our consciences,
as when a *man stealeth to satisfie his soule,* ^{Prou 6}
because he is hungrie. ^{30.} Also we must not
be too vrgent vpon princes, but ought to
allow a longer time of nauigation in winter
then in sommer. Some haue an opinion,
that the pleasures and magnificence of
princes take away their vnderstanding. But
Salomon saith, *I was great, and yet my wise-* ^{Eccles. 3}
dome ⁹

dome remained with mee. Others thinke that princes are inexcusable, if they abate of their magnanimitie for any cause. But David saith, I am weake and newly annointed, and they are too hard for mee. And to Abisbai counselling him to put Shimei to death (though he had right well deserued it) he replieth, that he counselled him then like an enemy to mooue him to put any body to death, seeing he knew, that he was but that day as it were newly restored king ouer Israel.

2.Sam.3.
39.

2.Sam.19
20.22.

2.King.18
35

Yerl.9.10

Had it not been for healing circumstances, it had been a crime in Hezekiah & a plaine sacrilege, to enrich Senacherib with the spoile of the temple. It had deserued no lesse the reprehension of the Prophet Isaiah, then his ostentation to the Chaldeans. But for as much as Samaria was already taken, and all the strong Cities of Iudah, his weaknesse was a great deale more excusable in the eies of all those which haue learned any compassion of others, by the conscionable feeling of their owne infirmities.

Thinke

on Easter Tuedaie, 1602.

Thinke the same thing of the vertues of princes, that they are to be valued exceedingly aboue their appearance, and aboue the selfesame deedes in othermen. The reason is the circumstance of their royall person, which ministreth an argument to this question, both from the efficient cause and from the effect. As touching the argument from the efficient cause, obserue that the good deed of a king is kingly, whereby he sheweth that hee doth not onely sustaine the person of a king by his office, but is also a king personally by his mind and heart. Although al vertues be morall, that is to say, taught in the morall law; yet the vertues of men as they are Christians are onely vsually so called. And as for the vertues of gouernment, and administration of a common wealth, they are called politique vertues. Now although the morall vertues be most necessary, that the person of the magistrate maie be accepted in respect of a sanctified conscience before God; yet
know

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

know you that as moral vertues are essentiall to Christians, so politique vertues are essentiall to princes : and that the politique vertues of true Christian princes are more excellent for the profit of a common wealth, then their morall vertues bee. Thinke with thy selfe then, that to do the office of a King, is a supereminent vertue; and a thing so necessarie to bee don, that by a rule of Gods word other personall dueties not onely may, but must giue place and bee pretermitted at that time for the performance thereof. It is true indeed, that if princes will causeleslie pretend their office to withdraw themselves from the personall dueties of godlines and charitie, which belong to their vocation of christianitie, that they do displease almightie God. But otherwise the necessitie of a generall duetie to God, and so iustly conceiued of by the doer, dispenseth with the omission of any inferior duetie.

It is found, and worthily to due purpose
alleged

on Easter Tuesdaie, 1602.

alleaged *Ezech. 46.* that the prince shall go
into the temple when the people go in, and
when they go out they shall go out together.

Ezech. 46
10.

It is sure enough that a fit man that had
accesse, might giue princes godly aduer-
tisements out of that scripture, yet the peo-
ple may not take occasion thereby to mis-
iudge princes whatsoeuer necessity re-
straineth them, for not doing so euery Sab-
bath. For that place, as appeareth in the
verse next before it, speaketh of solemne
feastes. And further it is (as all the chap-
ter) an allegorie; and allegories make no
rules in diuinitie. It were to bee wished in
deed, that the law in the 17. of *Deut.* of the
princes daily reading of the Scriptures,
were obserued: but yet the people must
suffer themselves to be informed, that this
time, and that, seeme not all alike. For it
doth not appeare vnto vs, that the Ciuill
magistrates then had any other law-booke
to study and peruse for ciuill administrati-
ons, but onely the Scriptures. Now then
it must be ascribed in a king, that furnisheth
his

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

his royal place duely, to a great measure of grace, if after his great labors in publike gouernment he do exercise himselfe moderately in the publike seruice of God: Not because a moderate seruice of God doth suffice, but because the king hauing serued God before in his publicke calling (a duetie more incumbent) doth, if hee do well, serue him still when he is retired to priuate. And if with a wise heart wee would weigh thus much (and without iudging) wee would not suppose carefull princes to be so barren and vnfruitfull of good workes, as wee surmise (for a crowne is not good for the headach.) Nay wee would informe our heades with better thoughtes, and conforme our heartes to the sweetest affectiōs by viewing in our renowned Queene (by no storie to be euery waie sampled) such wisdom in rerayning the trueth, such fortitude in defending it, such iustice in administrations, and such temperance in swaying of oppositions, and those of so different natures. This

is the argument from the efficient cause.

The argument from the effect is, the great good that the vertue of a prince, though it be but of a small shew, doth. In which respect it may be said that princes haue no little vertues at all. For the very gracious behauior of a prince (saith *Salomon*) *is like the dew upon the grasse*, and his very presence doth both honor and encourage any good action. Prou. 19
12.

The fourth sin, whereby Satan maimeth the good conceit of the soueraigne in the heart of a subiect, is lacke of equity in the subiect, when he blameth his prince for his owne fault. For wee require confident proceeding of princes: and yet wee do weaken them with our owne distraction. It is a sin in vs to be distracted, and it is yet a greater sin to thinke hardlie of others, for the fault which wee haue committed. The fourth
cause of
vnducti-
fulness. *It is in deed* (as in the Prou. it is said) *a comely thing for a king, against whom there is no rising up, to go on forward.* Prou. 30.
29.3 But the wretched dissension of subiects is a kind of rising vp,

D

&

& doth too often alter the case. The distraction of the people is like the pestilence in an armie, y^e hindereth it from marching forward. Neither is it possible for the prince to be so cōfident in rooting out of the Canaanites, after Israel is departed from Iudah, as before. The children of Israel (saith the holy Ghost) were staied longer then ordinary at Hazeroth, till *Miriam* and *Aaron* were censured by God for murmuring against *Moses*, and after were reconciled. The whole host was arrested by this distraction, and not by *Moses* his lingering.

Numb. 11
45.
and Num.
12.

Let vs iudge righteous iudgement, whether the diuision of the land, and the subdiuision also, haue not hindered the proceeding of the prince. The diuision is betweene Catholiques (as they will needs be called) and Protestants: & one subdiuision is betweene protestants and Protestantes (and that a shrewde one) which is raised to as high a price as alienation of affection, the sting of the tongue, and the tooth

tooth of the pen could enhance it. And besides that distraction, which properly respecteth the controuersie it selfe, it hath brought forth these two effects, that wee will neither vouchsafe to seeme to consent, in that wherein wee do consent, *to walke by one rule in that whereunto we are come*; nor ioine together against the common aduersarie. In the meane while the Tabernacle is set downe at Hazeroth, & (as our enemies do hope) is more like to goe backe to Kibroth-hattauah, then to go forward to the wildernes of Paran. Many hard and disguised courses haue been taken, tēding vnto an inexpressible diuision; as that by *Martin* with the wild oppositions of that kind. (Hee hath not a godly eare that can not endure the rebuke of that sinne, I saie hee hath not a godly eare.) If you will giue me leaue to detect by the stratagē of the deuill the stage-plaiers leasing of deuils, they plaied the part of fained deuils so long, till at last there was found a deuill more then tale, which hath driuen them from the

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

Counter-
fait diuels.
A diuell in
good er-
nest.

Ichabod
1 Sam. 4
21

stage; I meane the Papist with his preuailings to the discomfort of all Gods children. They in deed were *diaboli personati*, but he is *diabolus personalis et verus*. Since that distraction wee haue stooode mutually excommunicated one in anothers conscience. Then was the wofull childbirth of *Elies* daughter in law at the taking of the Arke. Then was *Ichabod* born, for then the glorie departed from Israel, for since that eclipse the gospel hath shined dimmer & dimmer. We are to be beseeched to bethinke vs of the calamities of the times; let vs not make a vertue of necessitie, but ioinc a vertue to necessitie, & conuert al the conditions offered to opportunitie of fighting for the common faith. Let vs lay aside the preiudice of our owne deed, and the preiudice of other mens deedes; and bethinke vs in the highnesse of humilitie, and not in the highnesse of conceit, what is fit to be don in this case: otherwise let vs not blame the prince but our selues.

There remaineth now the last cause of
the

the decaie of reuerent affection to princes,
the forgetfulnes of their benefits, which in
one worde is vnthankfulnes. *Weepe* (saith
David to the daughters of Israel) *for Saule* ^{2. Sam. 1.}
which clothed you in skarlet with plea- ^{24.}
sures, and hanged ornaments of gold upon
your apparell. And *Jeremie* saith of *Iosiah*, ^{Lamen. 4.}
that he was the breath of their nostrils, and ²⁴
that vnder his shadow, they had been preser-
ued aliue among the heathen. But men are
very vngratious in forgetting their princes,
& the blessings of God receiued by them,
and fall awaie in their hearts by little and
little. Let vs take heed that wee of this
nation, wrap not out selues in this sinne.
As for the Papists which haue made rebel-
lion and conspiracie, as it were an article
of their creed, their sinne in this behalfe is
written with the claw of an adamant, in a
table of remembraunce before both God
and man for all posteritie. Let vs bethinke
vs conscionably how much we are bound
to our gracious Queene, and not be vn-
thankfull, but thankfull.

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

First she hath beene our *Iosiah*, for shee hath restored the law that was lost. Secōdly, she hath beene our *Iehoshaphat*, in appointing Iudges to execute, not the iudgements of man, but of the Lord. Thirdly, she hath beene our *Hezekiah*, she hath opened the doores of the Temple of the Lord the first yeare and the first moneth. Fourthly, she hath beene our *Dauid*, for after great affliction most innocently & with memorable grace endured, she came into the throne of Maiestie, to settle peace and comfort in the throne of our conscience; yea to erect a throne for Christ to sit in, in the conscience of euerie man that would receiue him, by *giuing vs lawes in which we may liue*. Fifthly, she hath beene our *Salomon*, for she hath brought and continued aboundance of peace. By the benefit which God hath bestowed vpon her to bestowe vpon vs (which also she hath bestowed vpon vs) The saying of the Prophet *Jeremiah* is verified amongst vs. *We haue been at rest from our youth, and haue settled on our lees,*
and

Iere. 48.
11.

and haue not been powred from vessell to vessell. We haue endured no change, therefore our taste remaineth in us, and our sent is not changed. If our thrift had been answerable to the meanes, the wealth of the land had been incredible. Shee hath been carefull for vs like a mother, which waketh that her children may sleepe. The worke of our protection hath prospered maruelously in her hand, and Gods protection ouer her infoldeth as many of vs, as be not drawne to reuerence her thereby, in a grieuous crime. Her right is good, her gouernment good, her successe good, let our hearts also be good. Her continuance encreaseh her reuerence and authoritie, if we decrease not in the grace of God. The holy Scripture saith, that *David* was the ^{2 Sam. 21} *light of Israel* when he had raigned long. ^{17.} Her sex is legitimated with this honour by the fift commandement, no lesse then the naturall mother ouer her naturall children. *Honor thy father and thy mother.* And may we not truely say (and that without iudging)

ing) that the *Rauens* of the valley haue picked out the eies of many of her despisers? And what thinke we? not only of our duetie, but also of the measure of our duetie? Doth not this text priuiledge her, and preferre her aboue all other subordinate powers in assigning her the reuerence of the heart, and to them the reuerence of the tongue? It ought to be so farre from vs to fear any in our hearts before her, or in any degree equall with her, that when any person either opposeth himselfe vnto her, or seeketh to equall his interest in the hearts of her subjects with hers, we are bound in conscience to extirpe and exterminate him out of our hearts. It is but the wisdom of the flesh to leane to hopes, and to swarue from feare of future things, with any abatement of the present duetie. And it is not to haue a care of the Church, to be mindelesse of a present blessing, whilst we are looking this way and that way into the corners of the world. *Queene Elizabeth* is our *Sparta*, let vs adorne her; let vs desire of God with earnest

On Easter Tuesday, 1652.

earnest prayers the defeating of all wicked hopes, and the long and verie long deferring of all hopes whatsoeuer.

There is not one man in all these dominions, that desireth a change, except he be giuen ouer into a reprobate sense; and either purposeth to be an agent of great euils, or foreseeeth not to be a patient of great miseries. There are two cruell beasts in the land with gaunt bellies, the *wickedly needy*, and the *wickedly moody*. The wickedly needy are they in all degrees which haue consumed their own estates, and now houer ouer other mens, and therefore their eie watcheth for the twilight. The wickedly moody are they, which haue treasured vp wrath and reuenge in their mindes against those, which haue been Gods instruments for their nurture. These haue disdained that due defence should be opposed to their vnduetifull offence. Both these (as it is said of Lyons) haue for the time crookt in their nailes to keepe them sharpe: but they looke for a day, and God
grant

Zach. 14
12.

grant to as many among them as be impenitent, a day, & that the day that they shall see may be (as Zacharie saith) *when their eies shall sincke in their holes, and their tooong shall consume in their mouth*; and in the meane time, *that their flesh may consume away, though they stand upon their feete.*

It must not be thought that this is to preach men, but that this is to preach to men, to teach them to glorifie God in his ordinance, and to keep peace in their conscience. And I would to God with the hazard of all opinion of discretion, that this were not more then needfull to be vrged to many, that haue iudged themselves with no small reputation of their owne sufficiency. Interpret me charitably, I am secure for my selfe, but I take care for you that you sin not in vncharitable surmises.

Now followeth the next point, wherein we are counsell'd not to curse the rich, not to depraue persons of dignitie, which by the appointment of princes doe excell in authoritie: *Curse not* (saith Salomon) *the rich,*

on Easter Tuesday, 1662.

rich, no not in the withdrawing of thy bed-chamber. The word of God hath not commended vnto vs the supreme Magistrate, or Prince alone: but the subordinate and subalternall Magistrate also, such as he shal adhibit to the administration of thinges, they are both in the principall commission. And marke well this point, that although the subordinate Magistrate hath his commission out of a commission in respect of the Prince, and that, *durante beneplacito*; yet he hath it so long, as the Prince is so pleased, immediately from God in respect of our conscience. Obserue the Canons of the Apostles both *Paul* and *Peter*:

Put them in remembrance (saith S. Paul) *that they be subiect to principalities and TO* POVVERS, *and that they be obedient and ready to euerie good worke, that they speake euill of none. And againe, pray for kings and all that are in authoritie, to wit, vnder them.*

And S. Peter saith: *Submit your selues to all manner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king as vnto the* *superiour,*

The Doctrine of the subalternall magistrate

Tit. 3. 1

1 Pet. 2.

13.

Rom. 13.

August in
expof.
prop. in
ep. ad Ro.
propof.
74.

superiour, or unto *gouvernours* as unto them that are sent of him. And to returne to S. Paul, he saith of all in generall thus considered, that the powers that be are ordained of God, both supreme and subordinate, they are ordained by speciall institution according to his will reuealed, and are not meer effects of his prouidence, as heretikes haue thought. S. Paul indeed to note constraint, saith, that resisters shall receiue to themselves iudgement: but in the meane while he addeth, that we must be subiect also for conscience sake. For this cause (saith Augustine) *ne quis non pura dilectione subditus fieret huiusmodi potestatibus*: least any in their subiection to such powers should be defective in sincere loue. We must doe it therefore for conscience sake, that is, that we may be sure in our conscience that we doe it with the loue of them, to whom we are subiect, *in su domini nostri*, at our Lords best: (after his words) and as you may adde further, *in su domine nostre*, at the commandement of our Ladies Lord. We must therefore not reckon

on Easter Tuesday, 1602.

kon it for seruitude to bee vnder so many,
but bee subiect with an ingenuous spirit.
They that are otherwise affected, are like
the base minded hundes, and apprentices
to the plow, which say they like well their
maister and their mistris, but they can-
not endure the bailiffe of the husbandry, y^e
setteth them to worke. An homly compa-
rison will serue such homly folke. The
speeches both of the vulgar and others to,
which magnifie their mouthes aboue
the assise, are many both against the per-
sons and actions of magistrates, and they
are fraught with speciall indecencie to a
ciuill eare, and with scandalous wickednes
to a man of gracious vnderstanding. But
let vs examine as in the prohibition, so in
this inhibition the reason of these doings.

First if wee will inquire, we shall find
one ground of this deed to bee enuie, be-
cause such persons of worth are (lightly)
rich, as they haue their denomination in
this text. There is a great complaint of
their couetousnes, & their endles getting.

A

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

A thing indeed very worthy to be inquired into by themselves, how far their guiltines doth stretch in this behalfe : But it is not worthy to be inquired into by vs ; but least of all in an vnworthy manner. What thinke wee? that *they which must giue a portion to seuen and also to eight* (as Salomon saith) *had not neede to cast their bread vpon the waters*, that is to saie , to make prouision for the meanes , as it is best expounded? Do we thinke that when men are aduanced to be ministers of the state , they may not both entertaine and procure also good meanes, to enrich themselves for the managing of their degree? I cannot tell whether the malignity or ignorance of men be greater, or whether the hypocrisie of some be not greatest of all , which can finde in their hearts to enrich themselves , & to enuy others for so doing. Had not *Ioseph* so enriched himselfe that hee nourished his father and all his family? *It is not indecent* (saith *Augustine*) *to desire sufficientiam vita.* And he defineth sufficiency of life to be

Ecclef. 11
1. 2

Vide Tre.
melum.

August.
de orando
deo ad
Probam.

on Easter Tuesdaie, 1602.

be (among other things) *propter congruentem habitum personæ hominis*, that his behaviour (as he further saith) may not be inconuenient to those with whom he must conuerse. And hee concludeth, *Ista ergo cum habentur ut teneantur, cum autem non habentur ut habeantur orandum est*. These things while wee haue them wee must pray to hold them, and when wee haue them not, to haue them. I may truly speake it, and with greater libertie to, of those that are departed, that this land hath enioyed great counsellours and other ministers of state, which haue gotten much (in deede) and yet no more then might very well be vouchsafed them, if there were an vnderstanding heart in men to value such personages according to their worth. It is not a sufficient cause to maligne their riches & aduauncements, which giue their attendance on the safetie of prince and state. But their care and prouidence is a merit of a greater matter, and the maligning of the is a demerit of a greater rebuke then fitteth mee

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

me to giue. What is the obiection of new Nobilitie worth, when it shall be counterweighed with their new desert of quitting themselves so worthily in the managing of this noble state, as sundrie haue done successiuelly, from the beginning of her Maiesties raigne till now?

Secondly, vpon enquirie it will be euinced, that the cause of deprauing magistrates is the incorrigiblenes of the euill disposed. They crie out of crueltie against some particular Iudges and Magistrates, when their amendment is fought by anie due seuerity. And although wee be fallen into an age, whose diseales are growne to a Gangrene, yet we fare as they which had rather leese their life then a member. It were a profitable thing to men in the behalfe of their owne innocencie, to be carefull how they presumed to taxe the innocencie of those Magistrates that are zealous iusticers, and to commend those for harmelesse which are languishing and loose in this dutie. When sin is growne to an head (as among
vs)

vs) it is time for the Magistrate to make head against it. He must punish extraordinarie wickednesse with extraordinarie severity, as *Salomon* saith, *The blewnesse of the wound serueth to purge the euill: and the stripes within the bowels of the belly.* For (as *Augustine* saith) *Sicuti est aliquando misericordia puniens, ita & crudelitas parcens:* Pro. 20.
30.
There is a punishing mercie, and a sparing cruelty. And if the Ammonites which intreated King *Dauids* seruants so villanously might haue caried it away so, what end would haue beene put to such insolencies by the Gentiles? And therefore the holy Ghost saith in commendation of *Dauid*, *that he put them vnder sawes, and harrowes, and axes of yron, and cast them into the tile-kilnes.* Aug. ad Macedonium, epist. 64.
The tongues of Acolasts are no slander. For whatsoeuer they say, if God had not directed her Maiestie in placing such Magistrates as she hath don, it would haue redounded to the dishonour of God, to her dangerous disseruice, and to the spoile of her people. 2. Sam. 12.
31.

Thirdly, men of a slanderous and iudging spirit, set their fanges vpon the Ministers of state as vpon irreligious persons, bearing themselves & others in hand, that they are of no religion, and that they make no conscience of any thing. Of this kind the greatest part are either fooles or factious, & being heated with a faction can induce themselves to beleue without arguments. For what? is discerning betweene humor and spirit Atheisme? It standeth personages of state in hand to looke well to their owne hearts, for these men will not looke to their tongues. For although they occupie not their tongues in praying for them, yet they occupie them in reproching: and what lacketh that of Atheisme? For as one saith, there is Atheisme in Satyres as well as in Lucretius. As many as haue good consciences *need not to passe of it* (as Saint Paul saith) *to bee iudged of the daie of man.* And the parties themselves which whisper such thinges, may remember that the Lord doth not measure an

on Easter Tuesdaie, 1602.

an Atheist by their report. For (as *Ierom*
saith) *non eadē est sententia tribunalis Dei et*
anguli susurronum. The sentence of Gods
Tribunal and the whisperers angle, is not al
one. We ought not to iudge: but whē satan
is once mouited vpō his black steed (I mean
y suspicious melancholic of a man) he will
condemne *Hushai* himself as an Atheist, for
his semblance of reuolting to *Absalom*.

In Epist.
ad virgi-
nes Her-
monen-
ses.

2. Sam.
16. 18.

To bee breife, men haue so many vices
in themselues, wherewith to deprauē the
vertues of magistrates, that they can almost
do nothing by them with a good report.
Sometimes their sufficiencie is depraued;
sometimes their fidelitie challenged; some-
times their actions carped at; and some-
times their states are enuied. They that
are so lauish in this behalfe, might bee po-
sed with three questions when they enter
into these secrets. First, how knowest
thou? Secondly, what hast thou to doe
with it? Thirdly, what true hatred of thine
owne sin is in thee? How euer it be, it is the
counsell of the holy ghost, more profitable

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

for the malingners then their magistrates.
Curse not the Rich, no not in thy bed-chamber.

Pfalm.
131.

Prou. 20.
3.

The times wee are fallen into are both immodest, and vncharitable. It is of immodesty that many priuate men do (as it were) vsurpe vpon the intelligence of sundry secrets of the politique conueiance, & gouernment. It is lawfull for vs to informe our selues (if wee can by good meanes attaine vnto it) of state matters, that are not impertinent vnto vs to direct our prayers. But it is neither lawful to be causedroppers of state to occupie our tooongs, nor to make an occupation of intelligencing when we are priuate men. It is his protestation that had the holie Ghost, *I haue not walked in great matters and hid from mee.* And it is his sonnes speech that hath the testimonie of wisdom from the holy ghost, that *euery foole will bee meddling.* Saint Peters ἀλλοτρίωνος, 1. Pe. 4. 15. which is rendred *busie body*, reacheth in signification to one that is but *inspector*, a
prier

prier into other mens matters. And wee see in ecclesiasticall historians, that they which became *Libellatici*, that is, which were constrained to blaspheme Christ in writing, and they which were *Thurificati*, that is, which were constrained to offer sacrifices to the Diuell, (whereof *Origen* thorough his rashnesse was one) had formerly beene ἀλλοτρίεπισκοποι. And it is of such, (as by conference of stories may bee collected) of whom *Plinius Secundus* writeth to his maister *Traian*: *Coegi eos maledicere Christo, I constrained them to curse Christ*. A fearefull fruit of a busie bodie.

To containe our selues within the boundes of our calling is a speciall point of christianitie. And there are many found that by their intrusion into other mens secrets, are brought to the foolish Poets complaint. *Cur aliquid vidi?* For it is incident to the affectation of intelligence of doubtfull matters of state, to hurt the knowers by their owne default. The reason is,

1. Pet. 3.
10. 11.

because the tongue of such a man will take vengeance by talking shrewdly of matters, when the heart is grieved with hearsayes, and he will let driue at some in their absence, to whom hee would bow, if they were present. *But if any man (saith Saint Peter) long after life, and to see good daies, let him refraine his tongue from euill, and his lippes that they speake no guile. Let him eschewe euill, and do good; let him seeke peace and follow after it.*

It is of vncharitableness that men are so credulous, when they heare hard reports of great persons, and obserue not the rule of reports towards all persons. *Psal. 15. 3. He cannot (saith Dauid) be admitted into the fauour of God, that is a taker up of false reports that other men spread.* There are many sent out by Satan to belie those that are in authoritie; but the Lord hath sent *Pro. 17. 4. vs word by Salomon, that the wicked giueth heede to false lippes.* The credulous in this kinde must needes be in danger, for the credulous in generall fare often worke

worse then their informers. By reason of this sinne by Gods hand it came to passe, that the yoong Prophet which was credulous, was preuented by death, though the olde prophet, which was the seducer were respited aliue. 1. King.
13. 17. 18.

Let vs not be transported with any prejudice at the hearing of these things, to hinder our edification. Neither let vs interrupt the worke of our sanctification, by these offences. If we apply our selues in sinceritie to ponder what is saide, the Lorde will giue vs vnderstanding in all thinges. And this for the first part.

The second part consisting in the argument followeth, *For the foule of the heauen shall carrie the voice, and that which hath winges shall declare the matter.* In this place the Lord threatneth the detection of the deprauers of kings and Magistrates. Now it is verie worthy to bee noted, that this threat proceedeth from the Holy Ghost himselfe, which is not without a remarqueable implication of

the hainousnesse of this sinne. For the holy Ghost is not woont to bewray men for trifles: he onely interposeth himselfe to reueale, where sinners do specially oppose themselues to his grace, and to his Church or people. In which respect he employed *Elisba*, to disclose to the king of Israel whatsoeuer the king of Aram spake in the withdrawing of his chamber. And he stirred vp *Jonathan*, to disclose to *David* the secret conspiracies of *Saul* his owne father. The like is testified of *Michal*, who (whatsoeuer she were otherwise) was led by the spirit of God in detecting the ambush of her father *Saul*. This proceeding of the holy ghost in taking the matter into his owne hand, to become both Oyer and Terminer, is strong euidence, that the maligning of higher powers is in the Catalogue of those sinnes, which though they escape man, yet the vengeance of God doth pursue, and as it were bring backe againe to the iudgement seate. So that it is not a good meaning, nor that we were exasperate,

asperate, which will serue for an excuse to pacifie our conscience. *Parents offend if they prouoke their children to wrath;* but is that any varrant for them to conceiue wrath? No: we must come with the priuiledge of God for the least deed that tendeth to the defacing of the image of God. For els, whereas all true comfort is in the holy ghost, in this case the holy ghost is flat against vs.

And as they are sinners with a witnesse, with whom the holy ghost himselve is at the cost to be their detector, so marke likewise, that by the same reason a man can haue no securitie in the secret committing of this. For this is an euill secret wherein two cannot keepe counsell, though one be away. It is like the Iudaical leprosie, which resisted hypocriticall concealments by *shewing it selfe in the forehead*. For such kinde of persons are the Lordes Stigmatics, they are marked as *Cain* was. For 1 Timor. 5.25. (as *S. Paul* saith) *things that are otherwise* then well meant to Gods Church, cannot
be

be hid. But let vs consider both the members apart, for it is but a rule of the Rabbines to suppose it so verie frequent in scripture, to varie the words without any varietie of sense.

Speaking of the latter member first, he saith, that if there be any maligning of the *Rich* (as he meaneth) *the fowles of the heauen shall carrie the voice*: God will not suffer the deprauation of the ministers of state appointed by the king, to escape vnreueiled; nor consequently unpunished.

All *Dauids* deprauers, when he was but a subiect came after to shame and rebuke. And the prosperitie of *Eliakim* together with his aduancement, is threatned to *Shebna* for maligning him being a Magistrate, and is ioyned to the threat of his aduersitie and ruine, as parcel of it. So that although there be no expresse mention that *Shebna* was an enuier of *Eliakim*, yet the direction of the prophecie of *Eliakims* rising to *Shebna* (whom els it had not concerned) discouereth both his sinne and his punish-

Isaiah. 22.

37.

punishment. There are that thinke that if they can say, *God save the Queene*, that it is as good as a preambule to scuse their deprauiing of the counsell. But if counsellors and other great magistrates doe beare the image of God, they beare also the name of God. And ye see what is repeated in the sanction of the third commaundement. The commaundement is, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine*: and the sanction is, *for the Lord will not holde him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine*. Marke how he repeateth, *his name*, to wit, in whomsoever represented, to terrifie vs not onely from maligning of Princes, but also from maligning of Magistrates, for the memorials of God are manifold. And though it might be that thy conscience did cleere thee of any wicked intention to the person of thy Prince, yet in that were thou not iustified before God, if thou meantst to supplant the authoritie of thy Princes counsell, and ministers of state: for that were indirectly to supplant the authoritie
of

of thy Prince. It mattereth not what plausible shewes there be to doe such things, for the euent discouereth that they are but shewes. *Absalom* seemed to haue a iust quarrell against *Amnon* for lying with his sister, especially his pernicious impunitie considered by reason of *Dauids* indulgence. But *Absaloms* matter was not *Ammons* incest, but *Ammons* leni-ritie; he was betwixt him and the crowne; for the euent declared what an hater of incest *Absalom* was, by his behauiour to his fathers concubines. And the Lorde discouered by his insurrection against his father, that it was ambition that made him to kill his brother. If we be endued with any christian docilitie, let vs receiue that which is found with a simple heart. And let vs nurture our hearts with this truth, that God setteth himselfe to the reuenge of the iniuries done to subordinate Magistrates, which beare his image vpon earth; as he holdeth it blasphemie, not onely to blaspheme himselfe and his tabernacle,

on Easter Tuesday, 1602.

nacle, but also those that dwell in heaven: I offer vnto you that which is first offered to me by the word of God, together with the due consideration and affection requisite in such a speech, and so I leaue both you and it to the Lord. Onely be of a wise heart, and beware of the beginning of sinne. Your children (you say) will go from a pinne to a point, and so further: feare the like proceedings in this grieuous matter. For they that are deprauiers of deputed Magistrates, their tongues will afterward light vpon the supreme. This of the latter member let for- most in the Argument.

Now speaking of the former member in the latter place, hee saith, that if there be any maligning of the King; *the maister of the wings shall declare the matter*. His meaning is, that the Lord by his administrations will bee a swift witnes, and by his execution a swift iudge against such. For they presume very neere him that reach to his annointed, and to his children: For Kings
and

A Sermon preached at the Spittle

Esther. 2.

21.22.

and Queenes by an excellencie are called the sons and daughters of God, and hee watcheth ouer them with a celestially care. There is a memorable storie in the second of *Esther* of the discouerie of a treason, wherein also there are many momorable obseruations closely couched together. The storie is, y^e *Mordecai* detected the conspiracie of *Bigtan* & *Tereſh* against *Aſſuerus* their ſoueraigne. The obseruations are: First, that God blessed him with the honor to detect it. Secondly, that it was made knowne to him when hee was vnlikelie to haue any ſuch great intelligence, beeing then a person depressed by *Haman*. Thirdly, that heauen is a watch tower euen for heathen Kings. Fourthlie, that *Mordecai* which ouerheard it ſate without in the kings gate, and that the two conspirators kept the doore within, whereby aboue all expectation their whiſperings came to his eare, as he ſate there like a forlorne person. Fifthly, that the treason being but then firſt conſpired, and forthwith to bee executed
when

on Easter Tuesday, 1602.

when the king went next abroad, was disclosed before. Here was *Mordecai* a master of wings: hee informed *Esther* with expedition, as the prouidence of God had informed him by a diuine dispensation: so doth God haste to the succour of Kings. *I know* (saith the Church) *that the Lord will helpe his annointed, and will heare him from his sanctuary.* Psal. 20. 6

If there were euer nation, that had this truth sealed to their conscience by the demonstration both of Gods *hand* and *counsell*, that is to say, both of his execution and intention to reueale conspiracies, it is this, in which the Lord hath excelled himselfe in miraculous mercies. Wee may truely translate *Dauids* wordes to our selues. *If the Lord had not beene on our side* (may England now saie) *If the Lord had not beene on our side*, when men rose vp against vs, they had then swallowed vs vp quicke, when their wrath was kindled against our Queene. How many conspirators are gone to their owne places, with their bloud vp-
on

on their heads? How desperate, how secrete, and how neerely and imminently aduanced haue their attempts beene? so that the conspirators which remaine vnconuinced or vnconuerted by such a stretched out hand of God, are more wicked then wickednes it selfe. And I trust whensoever they conspire, they shall find in their confusion, that the hand of God is stretched forth still.

Beloued, I haue not beene moued to this or any other course by any, and I do well vnderstand vnder what penaltie we go which preach the word, if we seeke not to glorifie God in our ministerie. I doe very humbly beseech you therefore to ioine your godly care of looking deeply into this matter, to the pensiue regarde which I haue had to propound it profitable vnto you. I say looke deeply into it, if euer you looked deeply into any thing. I speake to all Christian English hearts (for English is essentiall to Christian in this matter.) Brethren what will you do? will you

you not be a meanes by your cheerefull & kind affection to your prince to reioice hir heart, and so to prolong hir life, when your duety and Gods glorie do both consist therein? To entertaine a Prince with heauines and silence which hath entertained & saluted vs with so many good turns, is not laudable. The vnkindnes of the people is inough to cut the heart of a prince. And concerning those principall ministers of state, whom her Maiestie hath put in place and holdeth in grace, shall they not bee vouchsafed the same in your consciences? If you keepe a court of conscience within you, know that none are properly clients which owe suite to that Court, but your owne selues. It is neither wisdom nor godlines for men to make their friendes their foes. Lay no imputation vpon me of carnall counsell. By carying a dutiful affection to those which may do you good in your good desires, you shall win them to do you good according to their meanes. And as for those great

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persons

persons themselves, as I am perswaded that no man present hath ought to saie, that will auoid the pointes concerning our dutie to them, which I haue urged (so it bee spoken vnder competent triall) so those more graue and sufficient persons either present or absent, as they shall by due calling haue accessse vnto them (as I haue hither) shall do well to trauell seriously with them to conteine them within the boundes of loue euen to their maligners, and not to set their wits against the witte of the simple, or of the distempered. I know they will informe themselves of their dutie: but God hath appointed exhortations to encounter temptations. I would there were an vniuersall loue daie in respect of all subiects. I would in respect of the prince that there were as it were an altar of consent built, and that all Gods and Queene *Elizabeths* vnreclaimable enemies were sacrificed vpon it by consent.

To conclude, let vs applie our selues to
the

the grace of God to take benefite of that wee haue heard: and let vs take these two lessons with vs for the keeping of a good conscience.

First, let vs gird close vnto vs the remembrance of Gods loue, to reuerence our Prince in our inward hearts, I saie let vs gird it close to vs, as a girdle of truth to gird in our affections at that verie time, when wee are tempted *to leaue our place* and to enter into discontentments, let vs, not consult with flesh and bloud apart.

Secondly, let vs know, that howsoeuer these dreames of misliking of princes for conscience sake come in at the Iuorie gate, yet they goe out at the Iron posterne, according to the olde embleme of dreames, that is to say, that after men are once plunged in this sinne, the spirit of God forsaketh them, and they are in a mysterie of all vnconscionablenes and miserie, and know not whither they goe.

But peraduenture it will be secretly objected, that there were more conuenient

points to haue beene spoken of by me at
this time then this.

My answere is, that I haue followed my
conscience in the choice of this argument,
for most conuenient of all others at this
time, to my vnderstanding, and that vpon
my maturest deliberation.

It may be it will be replied, that all is a-
gainst y faults of subiects, and neuer a word
against any one fault of any magistrate,
which may import suspition of temporiz-
ing.

My answere is, that for the reproofing of
magistrats neither my intelligence serueth,
nor my calling to this place, nor this place,
nor this time, nor this text. And for the re-
proofing of the faults which I haue repro-
ued, my knowledge serueth me, so doth
this time, and these times, so doth this text.

And as touching suspition of temporiz-
ing. Although I am much affected to my
prince, and loth to offend any magistrate,
whose fauour I may keepe with the fauour
of God : yet God which is the Lord of fa-

uour

hour, learning, gifts, and conscience, know-
eth, that as I haue gathered these things not
without labour both of head and heart; so
I haue sought in the same both to keepe
all good conscience, and to be a poore
meanes to helpe my brethren, and countri-
men to the like, by chusing and handling
this text thus.

And giue me leaue to speake one thing
of mine owne particular. That my ministe-
rie (the successe whereof I preferre before
my life) is like to be among the people, and
not amongst magistrates. And therefore I
would not wittingly alienate the people,
and so the Lord, from me both at once by
abusing his word or his children.

I do therefore with a premeditate aduen-
ture of men, put my selfe, and my doings,
and your selues, & your thoughts vpon the
grace and mercy of God in Iesus Christ, to
whom with the father and the holy
Ghost, be all honour & glory
now and euermore.

Amen.

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